

RUSSIA AND THE WEST IN IRAN

peasants and revision of the share-cropping system; agricultural improvements and irrigation, and establishment of a state agrarian bank; development of industry and natural resources; reform of the financial system; reform of the armed forces, and the like.

Aside from these points common to most of the political parties, Eradeh-yi-Melli advocated a few more unusual policies. These were: stronger defense of the political and economic independence of Iran; friendly treatment of the tribes; defense of Islam; introduction of religious teaching into the school programs; and a foreign policy of eternal neutrality for Iran, following the Swiss pattern.⁸

Seyyid Zia did not make a secret of his anti-Communist feelings. His press organs waged a relentless struggle against the Tudeh, accusing it of treason, subversive activities, antireligious propaganda, violence, sabotage, hooliganism, and hypocrisy.⁹ The invectives used by Seyyid Zia's press against the Communists were as strong as those addressed to him by the Tudeh. But it is noteworthy that until the oil crisis of the fall of 1944 Seyyid Zia's newspapers carefully avoided direct attacks on the Soviet Union. *Rad-i-Emruz* took pains to stress the basic friendliness of Iran toward Russia, pointing out that it expected honest reciprocity in this respect. These newspapers lamented the activities of the Tudeh, which they claimed confused good relations between the two countries. Regrets were expressed that an utterly irresponsible group endeavored to monopolize friendship toward the great northern neighbor.¹⁰ Hope was occasionally voiced that the Soviet authorities would not give undue credence to the Tudeh and thus prevent unnecessary complications.¹¹

Such differentiation between the Tudeh and the Soviet Union could not fail to be rather artificial. From the practical point of view, however, it provided a good cloak to hide disapproval of Soviet policies without incurring the blame for directly attacking an Ally.

Increased Soviet pressure on Iran in the fall of 1944 finally provoked an open counteroffensive by Seyyid Zia ed-Din. *Ra'd-i-Emruz*

s *Ra'd-i-Emruz*, Feb. 19, 1945; *ibid.*, May 27, 1945. See also the pamphlet *Eradeh-yi-Melli* (Teheran, 1945).

9 *Ra'd-i-Emruz*, Dec. 31, 1944, accused the Tudeh of having put fire to the Teheran silo and to the building of the **A.I.O.C.**

10 *ibid.* SepL 22, 1944.

11 *Arzu* Nov. 28, 1944.